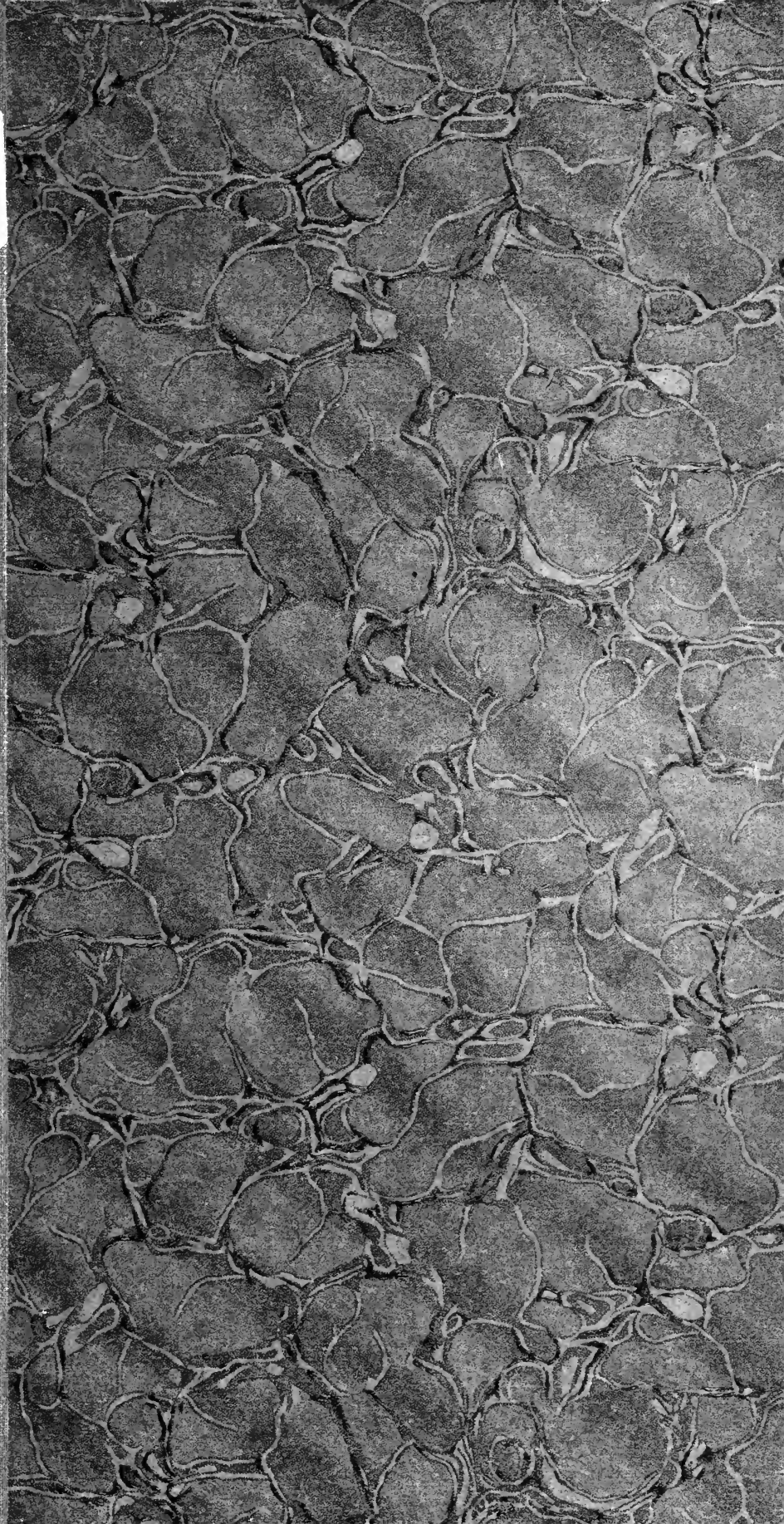


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THE LESSER NEW-FIRE CEREMONY  
AT WALPI

BY

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J. WALTER FEWKES

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THE LESSER NEW-FIRE CEREMONY AT WALPI

BY

J. WALTER FEWKES

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## THE LESSER NEW-FIRE CEREMONY AT WALPI

By J. WALTER FEWKES

### INTRODUCTION

Fire is or was regarded by the Hopi Indians of northeastern Arizona as a living being, its cultus consisting primarily of rites for germination, and, secondarily, for rain-making. When "new fire" is ceremonially kindled, this act and the accompanying rites are "prayers" to the Fire-gods, or, what is practically the same thing, to the personations of great magic powers, male and female, which generate or "create" living beings.

The Greater New-fire festival<sup>1</sup> occurs at Walpi in November and is celebrated by all male adults of the pueblos on the East Mesa of Tusayan. The "gods" worshiped at that time are (1) the male Germ-god, *Masaut*, God of Fire and ruler of the abode of the dead; and (2) his female complement, the Germ-mother, called *Alósaka*-woman or *Talatumsi*, and *Tuwapoñtumsi* or Earth-woman.<sup>2</sup>

The festival is celebrated at Walpi<sup>3</sup> in an abbreviated and an elaborate form, and is the most complicated ceremony performed on the East Mesa.

There is another Fire festival, of much less complication and possibly of different geographical origin, performed in the two East

<sup>1</sup> "The New-fire Ceremony at Walpi," *American Anthropologist*, o. s., 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Talatumsi* is so called because her idol is worshiped at sunrise (*tala*); *Alósaka*-woman because at Awátobi, from which pueblo her cult was derived, her complement, the Germ-god, was called by this name. The Earth-woman (*Tuwapoñtumsi*) is represented by a log of petrified wood, an archaic personation of Mother Earth. (For an illustration see "The New-fire Ceremony at Walpi," *op. cit.*)

<sup>3</sup> It was in part derived from Awátobi, a Hopi pueblo destroyed two hundred years ago, and may justly be supposed to contain many ceremonial survivals of that ill-fated village.



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NATIVE PICTURES OF SUMAIKOLI, KAWIKOLI, AND YAYA PRIESTS





Mesa pueblos of Hano and Walpi. This festival is controlled by a single priesthood, still represented in New Mexican pueblos. The Hopi call it *Sumaikoli*; in this article it is designated the Lesser Fire ceremony. As the *Sumaikoli* is much simpler than the *Wüwütcimti*, or Greater New-fire ceremony, its meaning is less difficult to discover, the essentials in it not being obscured by secondary accretions. This meaning is found to be identical with that of the Greater New-fire ceremony, that is, a "prayer" to *Kokyan-wüqti*,<sup>1</sup> with added prayers to the Sun, Moon, *Masaut*, and the cardinal points.

The *Sumaikoli* is a special ceremony of a fraternity of priests called the *Yaya*, and occurs in the months of July and March. It has no connection with the Greater New-fire festival in November, which is controlled by four other fraternities.<sup>2</sup> Two of the East Mesa pueblos celebrate this lesser festival, and as one of these, Hano, is a Tanoan village, the author believes that it was introduced from New Mexico by Tanoan clans—a conclusion supported by the fact that it is not observed at Oraibi, where the influence of colonists of this kinship is less marked than at Walpi. While the fact that it is celebrated in Hano is enough to betray its Tanoan derivation, there are other arguments which point to the same origin. Its name is not Hopi, and its chief, Simotci, belongs to a clan generally identified as of eastern, possibly of Tanoan, origin.

The summer or July *Sumaikoli* at Hano was first witnessed by the author in 1891; he has never seen the spring presentation of this festival at that pueblo, for the old chief, Kalacai, died about 1892, and his successor did not give the performance in 1900, when the author was living in the neighborhood. The

<sup>1</sup> Spider-woman, an animal personation of the magic power of Earth; called, in the Greater New Fire, *Alósaka*-woman or *Talatumsi*, and *Tuvapoñtumsi*. Also known as Old Woman, *Müyinhwá*-woman, and by numerous other names.

<sup>2</sup> Almost all the great Hopi festivals have a major and a minor celebration of their mysteries, occurring six months apart, but *Sumaikoli* is not a minor celebration of the *Wüwütcimti*.

chamber in which the masks and other paraphernalia are kept has often been visited in recent years and the objects have frequently been inspected by the author and his friends.

So far as known, the only published pictures of the public masked *Sumaikoli* are those of Dellenbaugh,<sup>1</sup> who, however, fails to add any new facts that would lead to an interpretation of its meaning. The Hano *Sumaikoli* has already been described,<sup>2</sup> but up to the present time nothing has been published on the Walpi variant. The present account is based on notes made in March, 1900, while the author was engaged in ethnological work in Arizona for the Bureau of American Ethnology.

### THE YAYA PRIESTS

The fraternity of priests known as the *Yaya* is an ancient one, represented by distinct organizations in both Hano and Walpi. From existing legends it appears that this fraternity had much greater power in ancient than in modern times, and was formerly more conspicuous in the ritual.<sup>3</sup> The living members claim for their predecessors most extraordinary power over fire and recount incredible stories of their magic. These latter are practically believed by the older members, who say that they have witnessed the events described. They assert that members of the priesthood once swallowed fire without harm; were able to leap into a bonfire uninjured, and could carry bundles of fagots about the plaza until their bodies were covered with burns and their hair consumed, without suffering either pain or injury; while their magic

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<sup>1</sup> *North Americans of Yesterday*, New York, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Amer. Eth. and Arch.*, Vol. II. The row of objects called "shields" in this description are not war-shields, but masks or "face-shields." They are called *sumaikoli*, and the personators who wear them bear the same name. The ceremony is likewise called *Sumaikoli*, but the priests who control it are known as *Yaya*. The signification of the terms *Yaya* and *Sumaikoli* is unknown to the writer.

<sup>3</sup> The accompanying figures (plate XI) show the costume and paraphernalia of a *Yaya* priest. Attention is called to the peculiar framework rattles which these priests carry in their left hands. The original drawings here reproduced, were made by a Hopi Indian.

power over fire is said to have been so great that they could cure its ill effects on the human body.

Numerous other stories of the marvelous magic of the early priests are current among their present representatives. The ancient *Yaya* were accustomed, it is said, to seat themselves on the edge of the mesa and throw themselves, without harm, headlong to the plain several hundred feet below. A member of the old priesthood, they say, performed the following deed by his magic power: The "Giant's Chair" is a large butte visible from the Walpi plaza, although over thirty miles distant. One of the *Yaya*, in presence of many spectators, took his stand in the plaza, holding in one hand a bowl of white pigment and in the other a fragment of cloth; he dipped the cloth in the pigment, held it up before the witnesses, made a pass in the air as if rubbing the distant butte, and his power was so great that the mountain turned white. Shortly afterward the same man made another pass with his hand, and the Giant's Chair resumed its ordinary dark or black color. Many other marvelous stories are told of the magic powers of the ancient Fire-priests, but those cited will serve to show their general nature.

At the present time, although much less important than formerly, the *Yaya* priests are still believed to have great shamanistic power in curing disease. Their method of treatment is quite prevalent in primitive medicine, based on reasoning by analogy, so constant in savage philosophy. For example, skin eruptions present analogies to the effect of fire; they itch or burn, hence they can be cured by fire or its products—heat, ashes, and the like. By application of charcoal or ashes the *Yaya* claim to cure burns, scalds, or skin eruptions of various kinds. Heated rocks tied to a broken leg are supposed to heal the fracture.<sup>1</sup> By their magic power over fire and its products the *Yaya* counteract the

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<sup>1</sup> The author witnessed a *Yaya* shaman, Nūvawinû, make use of ashes in the treatment of a burn on a woman's neck. He filled his mouth with charcoal and ashes, chewed them, and squirted the mixture, Chinese fashion, on the afflicted part.

magic power of those who cause these disorders, for disease to primitive man is the product of sorcery or the malevolent magic of an enemy.

#### GENERAL REMARKS ON THE SUMAIKOLI

It is customary for the priests to indicate the existence of secret rites by objects placed near the entrance of the room in which they are performed. The *Yaya* priests use for this purpose two small feruled sticks and a spherical gourd attached to the end of a rod inserted in the straw matting which ordinarily serves as a cover for the kiva entrance. These objects were placed on the *Alkiva* during the *Sumaikoli* ceremony in 1900.

The rites witnessed by the author lasted one day, having been opened early in the morning by the kindling of a new fire. Shortly after noon this fire was carried by couriers to four shrines of the Fire-god. The interval between these two events was occupied in the manufacture of prayer-sticks and in their consecration by prayers, songs, smoking, and invocation to a personation of Mother Earth called *Kokyan-wüqti*, or Spider-woman.

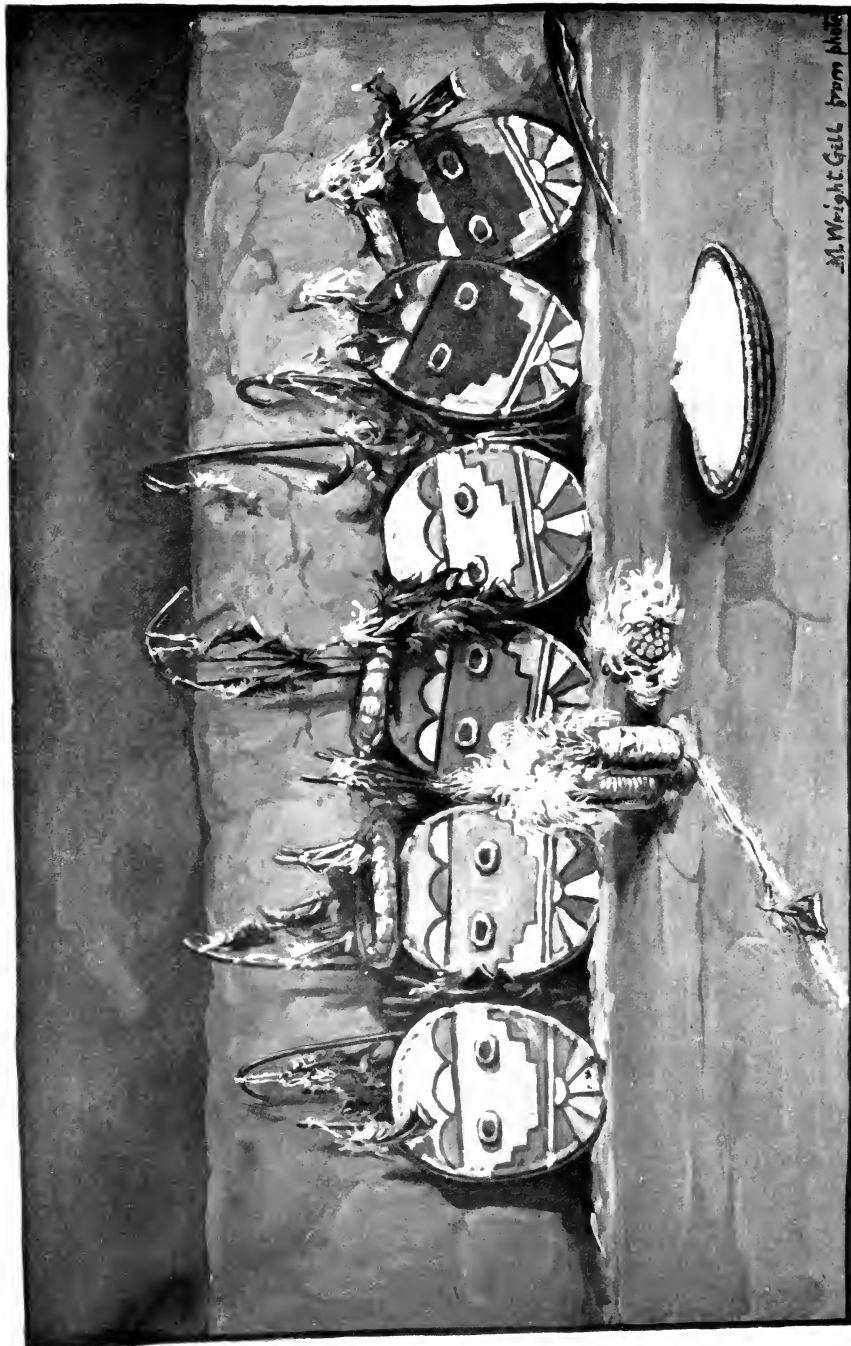
The following events occurred at Walpi on the single day of the *Sumaikoli* festival:

1. Fire kindled by friction.
2. Manufacture of prayer-offerings (later enumerated.)
3. Consecration of the prayer-offerings; prayers.<sup>1</sup>
  - a. Ceremonial smoke.
  - b. Verbal prayers.
  - c. Songs.
  - d. Invocation to Spider-woman.
  - e. Verbal prayers.
  - f. Ceremonial smoke.
4. Couriers carry fire and prayer emblems to four shrines.

A minute description of these events cannot here be given, although their details were carefully studied and recorded<sup>2</sup>; but

<sup>1</sup> The word "prayer" is here used in its broadest sense, including all the means by which the worshiper makes known his desires.

<sup>2</sup> This article is preliminary to a complete and more elaborately illustrated description of the rites, especially those before the altar when the songs are sung.



Al Wright Gull from photo

SUMAKOLI ALTAR AT WALPI



a brief notice of their general character will be presented, with suggestions as to their significance.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SUMAIKOLI SECRET RITES

A secret ceremony may be considered from the following sides:

1. From that of the paraphernalia used — a description of the ceremonial objects (*wimi*), their installation on or about an altar, and their symbolism.

2. Means by which the magic power of the paraphernalia is quickened, and those by which that action is directed to obtain desired results. These means are commonly called prayers.

3. Prayer-sticks and, in the case of *Sumaikoli*, prayer-fire by which the prayers are carried to the shrines of the gods.

##### 1.—*The Sumaikoli Wimi Installed in an Altar*

Every Hopi religious fraternity has a collection of fetishes and other objects which it makes use of to bring about certain results. The possession and knowledge of how to use these objects, or *wimi* as they are called, gives the name *wimkya* to a Hopi priesthood. The *wimi* are practically all the paraphernalia of worship—idols, painted slats, symbols, masks, and other objective material used in the ceremonies. An altar is their prescribed installation, and may be simple or complicated according to the number and character of the objects. The *Sumaikoli* altar (plate XII) consists of a row of disks, or shield-like bodies which, from the fact that they are sometimes worn on the head and have faces depicted on them, will be called face-shields. These disks are set side by side on the floor of the kiva with their edges touching; they are painted with the same symbols, although their colors vary considerably. Since there are six of these face-shields or masks, with colors corresponding to those of the six cardinal world-directions of the Hopi, they symbolize those points, viz., north, west, south, east, above, and below; or, beginning at the

right, yellow, green, red, white, black, and black (called also *kawikoli*).

Two objects, called *tiponis*, one of which belongs to the chief, Simotci, are placed on the floor before the row of face-shields. They are badges of chiefs and are called "mothers," for they are the most precious of all altar *wimi*. From one of these, as is customary in all altars, a line of meal, upon which is laid a string with attached feathers, is drawn along the floor toward the ladder which forms the exit from the room. This line symbolizes a trail along which the magic power of the *wimi* is supposed to pass.

One of the most important objects<sup>1</sup> on the floor before this line of face-shields, and by the side of the *tiponis*, is composed of many black sticks tied together like a fascis and ornamented with attached feathers. This fetish is called Spider-woman and represents one of the dual supernatural beings worshiped in the *Sumaikoli*.

2.—*Means of Quickening and Directing the Magic Power of the Sumaikoli Wimi*

Under this heading is included what is ordinarily covered by the expression "making medicine." The rites which occur around a medicine-bowl or before an altar are supposed to quicken the magic power of the medicine or *wimi*. At the same time these rites are prayers and serve to make known the wishes of the participants. Several kinds of prayers are used in the *Sumaikoli*:

A. Kindling the new fire. The priests want germs of life to develop. The priest kindles fire, or makes life, thus directing the God of Fire or Life to do likewise.

B. Verbal prayer. The priest makes known by words how he wishes the magic powers to act.

<sup>1</sup> This object was not unwrapped by the priests while the author was present, but, judging from the contents of similar "baskets" in the *Lalakonti* which the writer was permitted to inspect in 1891, it probably contains many seeds, pigments of various kinds, and possibly shells and other articles.



C. Song prayers. Rythmic vocal directions to the gods indicating the ideas of the priest.

D. Pantomimic or symbolic prayer, otherwise designated as "prayer by signatures." Ceremonial smoking is a good illustration of this kind of prayer. A cloud of tobacco smoke resembles a rain-cloud; <sup>1</sup> a rain-cloud brings rain; therefore, by analogy, making smoke brings rain.<sup>2</sup>

a. *Kindling the new fire by friction*.—The new fire is kindled in the *Sumaikoli* ceremony in substantially the same way as in the November New-fire ceremony, elsewhere described; but attendant rites in the former are less complicated than in the latter, where only one fraternity of priests participate.<sup>3</sup> Two sticks were used in kindling the fire, one of which we may call the twirler, the other the notched firestick. The former is regarded as male, the latter female.<sup>4</sup> In making the fire the notched firestick is placed on the floor and the twirler is inserted in a small depression near its edge. The twirler, which is held between the open hands, is rapidly rotated; pollen (the male prayer symbol) is added, and finally, through friction, a grain of ignited dust falls from the cavity, through a notch, on shredded cedar-bark placed on the floor beneath the notched firestick; this is fanned into flame by means of which the fuel in the fireplace is ignited.

b. *Verbal prayer*.—This form of prayer is a direct appeal to the gods, either by means of comprehensible language or through

<sup>1</sup> In seasons of great drought the Navaho are said to kindle great forests or to make other fires in order to create a great smoke which "causes rain." Here is involved the same idea as in smoking with the mouth, but carried out on a much larger scale.

<sup>2</sup> This fallacy is a very natural one when the true character of smoke and clouds is unknown. Superficially they resemble each other to the primitive mind, hence they are identical and both have the same powers.

<sup>3</sup> The author arrived at the kiva too late to witness the *Yaya* kindle their new fire, but he saw the twirler and notched firestick on the floor and the fire burning in the fireplace, and was told that the fire had just been made by friction. There was every evidence that the fire had been made only a few minutes before he entered the room, which statements of the priests confirmed.

<sup>4</sup> The designation of the twirler as male and the notched firestick as female is common among primitive men. The latter is sometimes carved in the form of a woman or bears a female symbol.

mere meaningless sounds. In the *Sumaikoli* prayers there is one good example of the latter. At the culmination of the rites, while songs are being sung, the chief, Simotci, kneels on the floor by the side of the fetish, puts his mouth to a hole in the floor (which is said to communicate with the Underworld home of the Earth Mother), and yells several times, "*Ya-a-he-he-he!*" These meaningless syllables are invocations to the Spider-woman for the germination of seeds and other life.

3.—*Means by which Sumaikoli Prayers are Conveyed to the Gods*

In Hopi methods of worship an object or symbol bears the prayers to the gods. These objects have magic power, are quickened and directed as already mentioned, and are carried to shrines or (symbolic) dwelling places of gods, where they are supposed to exert the magic powers imparted to them. They may be said to "speak" to the gods. The two types of these objects in the *Sumaikoli* ceremony are prayer-sticks and prayer-fire, both of which convey the magic power of the *wimi* to the shrines of the gods for whom they are intended. An enumeration of the gods for whom they are made and to whom they are sent reveals the object of the ceremony. Prayer-sticks bearing the names of the following were noted: 1, Sun; 2, Moon; 3, *Masauû*; 4, Unknown; 5, Cardinal points. The first four were the same as the prayer-sticks of these gods made in other rites; the last were twigs, eight in number, to which were attached stringed feathers. The prayer-sticks and the prayer-fire were distributed by four couriers, who carried also symbolic food consisting of ground *piki* (paper bread), *pígume* (dried pudding), and fragments of peaches. Each courier was naked and carried a cedar-bark torch which was ignited at the kiva fireplace. With these lighted torches in one hand, the couriers shouted as they ran through the pueblo, and rushed down the trail to the *Masauû* shrine<sup>1</sup> situated in the foot-

<sup>1</sup> Called the "great *Masauû* shrine." This "house" of the Fire-god is figured in *Jour. Amer. Eth. and Arch.*, Vol. II. The sticks and twigs upon it are deposited by returning wood-gatherers as prayers to *Masauû*.

hills north of the pueblo. When they had arrived there they placed the prayer-sticks in the shrine and hastily gathered a pile of such twigs and other bits of wood as were available. This pile they ignited, then immediately left the place, making a quarter circuit of the mesa to a second shrine, situated west of the village, where they made a second fire, and so on to the south and east shrines, at each point kindling and leaving a small fire and feather and other offerings to the Fire-god and other gods. They then returned to the kiva on the mesa. In elaborate performances of the *Sumaikoli*, distribution of the fire and other prayer-bearers is more public, and it is said that the prayer-fire is carried to the shrines by men wearing face-shields, but this the author has never seen.

There is this essential difference in the distribution of the offerings in the *Sumaikoli* and the *Wüwütcimti*. In the latter, prayer-fire is carried to the four kivas and not to the shrines of *Masaut*, for a personation of *Masaut* sits in the kiva while the fire is kindled, and prayers are made directly to him. Two societies of priests carry offerings to the Germ-mother<sup>1</sup> immediately after the new fire is kindled in the November festival.

On the evening following the events above described, there were songs and possibly ceremonies in the kiva which escaped the author's attention.<sup>2</sup>

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#### PUBLIC EXHIBITION OF SUMAIKOLI

It will be noted that there is no mention of a public exhibition of masked men in the *Sumaikoli* of Hano pueblo<sup>3</sup> or in that of

<sup>1</sup> As a personation of the Fire-god sits in the kiva while the fire is being kindled, there is no need to carry prayer-fire to his shrines in the Greater New Fire; but there is no personation of the Germ-mother in the room at that time, consequently the priests visit her shrines. In the *Sumaikoli* there is no personation of *Masaut* in the room where fire is kindled, hence prayer-fire is borne to his shrines; but as the Germ-mother (*Kokyan-wiigti*) is represented by a fetish, there is no visit to her shrine in the *Sumaikoli*.

<sup>2</sup> The author was unable, from exhaustion, to witness this part of the *Sumaikoli*, as constant vigils in the kivas in March taxed his strength to the utmost.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journ. Amer. Eth. and Arch.*, Vol. II.

Walpi here described. All the rites occur in the kiva, and the public sees nothing except the fire couriers rushing through the pueblo and down the mesa side to the shrines as above mentioned. On some occasions, however, the face-shields or masks which are so conspicuous on the altar are worn in public. Various masked men, representing *katchinas*, likewise participate in these performances. The author has no photograph of this event, but has introduced a drawing (plate XI) representing a *Sumaikoli* and a *Yaya* priest as they appear at that time,<sup>1</sup> and a *Kawikoli* with another priest. Mr Dellenbaugh figures other masked men, one of which he calls "*Hobobo*." From the fact that the masks are sometimes worn in public exhibitions of the *Sumaikoli*, we learn that the festival becomes at times more elaborate and are led to the conclusion that the couriers who bear the fire sometimes wear the face-shields so prominent on the altar (plate XII).

It is said that incredible feats with fire, which legends declare were formerly performed during the *Sumaikoli* ceremony, took place in public at this stage of the festivities. It is claimed that a Hopi fire-dance was once performed which rivaled that of other tribes, and it is possible that these public exhibitions somewhat resembled the fire-dance of the Navaho; but as the author has never seen either, he is unable to express an opinion on this point, nor is he able to make any comparison with the variants of the *Sumaikoli* which survive among Pueblos not of Hopi stocks. Survivals no doubt exist in several pueblos, but, so far as the author knows, nothing definite has been recorded concerning their character.

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. The *Sumaikoli* ceremony is a fire festival of the *Yaya*, or Fire-priests, in which fire is ceremonially kindled with secret rite. and masked beings sometimes appear in public.

<sup>1</sup> The drawing from which this was copied was made by a Hopi familiar with the public exhibition of the *Sumaikoli*. Although the face-shields bear representations of eyes, the *Sumaikoli* are said to be blind.

2. The festival was introduced into the ritual of Walpi from Zuñi, the Rio Grande pueblos, or directly from Hano where it is still observed.

3. Its purpose is primarily a prayer for the germination of life, to which are added those for rain and other blessings.

4. The special gods "worshiped" are the Germ-father and the Germ-mother.

5. The Germ-father, here called *Masauû*, the Fire-god, is communicated with by means of prayer-sticks placed in his shrines or prayer-fires kindled in the vicinity of the same.

6. The Germ-mother, called in this ceremony by the name of her animal personation, *Kokyan-wüqti* (Spider-woman), is communicated with by invocations consisting of archaic monosyllables shouted by the chief.

7. The *Sumaikoli* are ancients of the *Yaya* priests, and their personators wear face-shields bearing traditional symbols when they dramatize the ancient ceremony. A face-shield or mask has magic power, and its presence on the altar is a symbolic or mute suggestion of the elaborate ceremony of the ancients.

8. A comparison of the *Sumaikoli* and *Wüwütcimti* ceremonies shows that the Germ-mother has different names among the Hopi. In the Greater New-fire festival we find her called *Talatumsi* or *Alósaka-wüqti*, and *Tuwapoñtumsi*; in the Lesser, *Kokyan-wüqti*. These and several other names applied to the same personage betray the composite character of Hopi mythology. By the same theory the Germ-god, who is called *Masauû*, the Fire-god, in the New-fire rites, is elsewhere known as *Eototo*,<sup>1</sup> and appears in other rites also as *Müyiñwû* and *Alósaka*. The

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<sup>1</sup> The mask of *Eototo* is white, that of *Masauû* black; but the symbolism and paraphernalia of the two are identical. There are several reasons which lead the author to suspect that *Eototo* is the old Germ-god of the ancient pueblo of Sikyatki: (1) He is personated by the chief of the *Kokop* clan which once lived at that pueblo; (2) There is said to have been an *Eototo* clan at Sumaikoli; (3) The personator of *Eototo* in the *Soydluña* utters Jemez or Keresan words to the effigy of the Great Serpent, and legends agree that the people of Sikyatki came from Jemez.

author does not believe that these several designations denote different gods, but regards them as attributal or special names of one great magic male power, the Sky-god, whose appellations vary with different clans. *Masaui*, *Müyiñwü*, *Eototo*, and *Alósaka* are different names for the same god—the Sky-god, whose house is the Underworld and whose shield or mask is seen in the sun's disk.

It has thus happened that the dualism of sex in nature has been early recognized and exalted into a great genitor and genitrix—the former, magic power of sky, the latter of earth. These two powers, according to the philosophy of primitive man, have always existed, and man, animals, plants, and lesser gods have been born from these two—not created, but born. An artificer or creator is unknown to lower races in their primitive status. Cosmogony is not a proper term to apply to natal legends of a race who have no idea of a cosmos, and so-called creation myths are simply stories of how races of men and animals, themselves often mythic, were born from Earth and Sky. The names of these two parents may vary greatly and their powers be ascribed to animal personations,—a giant bird or snake or a combination of the two may in course of time be spoken of as the Sky-god, and a spider or a mole as the Earth-goddess; the sun (shield or mask of the former) may commonly be regarded as the Sky-god. All may be elevated into “creators” by students who seek an artificer of nature as a whole among the myths of lower races. There is every probability, however, that primitive man, if he ever thought of the question, universally believed that earth, sea, and sky always existed, and that in his first essays to discover causes he limited himself to the question how the first animals and man were born. Many races recount how their ancestors were born from Mother Earth, and claim that their father was a Sky-god or some animal personation of the same.

It is known that the Hopi people were formed by the union of different clans which from time to time have drifted together,

and that prior to consolidation each group of clans had developed its own pantheon to the members of which it had given its own names. These names survive in some instances, but probably in others they have been lost. While they represent in a general way the same conception, they have not exactly the same significance—Zeus and Jupiter are in a general way the same god, yet not identical, although many generations of scholars confounded them. The gods of each Hopi clan differ slightly, for the past environments of these clans have not been alike. In the amalgamation of clans into a tribal people, differences of language have been merged into a common language and clan conceptions of gods have followed the same laws of unification.

The present Hopi idea of a Sky-god is a more or less composite conception—a generalization of magic powers of meteoric phenomena, each of which was once regarded as a separate god with a special name. Lightning, wind, rain, germination, sun, were all once given separate magic powers or were gods. Amalgamation of clans led to generalization in which the Sky-gods were all merged into one, and meteoric phenomena became attributes or “servants” of one Sky-god. While much can be said in support of a belief that a conception of a Sky-god, or recognition of the magic power of the firmament as a whole, was the primitive one from which attributal magic powers, as those over lightning, rain, and fire, have been differentiated, the author believes that the conception of a Sky-god so far as it is monotheistic is due to integration, resulting from union of clans, each of which emphasized into a god some special phenomenon of the sky.

The keynote of primitive religion is sympathetic magic. “Man,” writes Tylor, one of the greatest ethnologists of our generation, “as yet in a low intellectual condition, having come to associate in thought those things which he found by experience to be connected in fact, proceeded erroneously to invert this action, and to conclude that association in thought must involve similar connection in reality. He thus attempted to discover, to

foretell, and to cause events by means of processes which we can now see to have only an ideal significance. By a vast mass of evidence from savage, barbaric, and civilized life, magic arts which have resulted from thus mistaking an ideal for a real connection, may be clearly traced from the lower culture which they are of, to the higher culture which they are in. . . . Magical arts in which the connection is that of mere analogy or symbolism are endlessly numerous throughout the course of civilization." The primitive mind associates fire with life, and comes to believe that this association of ideas exists in reality. By the symbolic act of kindling new fire, the Hopi priest believes that he can cause the gods to make corn germinate.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

PLATE XI. The two upper figures represent a *Sumaikoli* preceded by a *Yaya* priest. The *Sumaikoli* wears a face-shield more like that of Hano than of Walpi, but it differs from both in several particulars. The curved bodies, one on each side of the head, represent horns; the apex of the head ornament has feathers and a crook with a symbolic ear of corn. The face bears a rain-cloud symbol and an embroidered sash is tied to the back of the head. He wears a kilt decorated with triangular rain-cloud symbols, and a buckskin shirt over which is hung another buckskin garment, painted red in the original. Along the side of each leg is a row of conical shells cut from a conus and called *mosilili*. A fox-skin hangs from the belt behind, and the anklets are of red horse-hair.

The *Yaya* carries in his right hand a curious rattle made of a framework sliding on a handle. This is somewhat better shown in the figure in the lower right-hand corner of the plate.

The remaining figure, *Kawikoli*, wears a spherical helmet like that of *Masau*, with two white marks on each cheek; on each side of the head are bunches of *nakwakwocis* or feathered strings representing prayers. There is a mountain-lion's skin over his shoulders, and he bears an ignited cedar-bark torch in each hand.



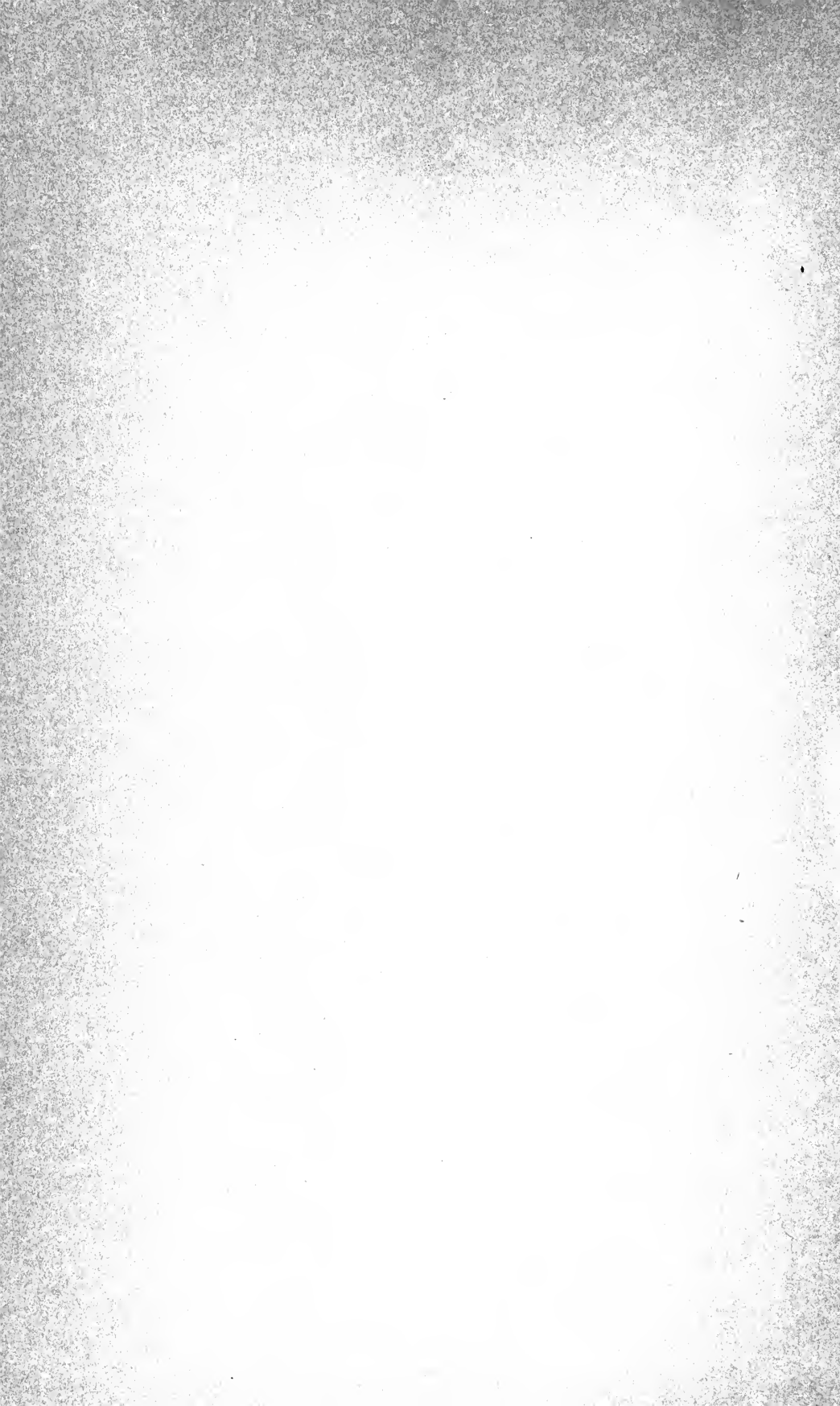
The coloring of the original drawings is lost in the reproductions, which are also somewhat reduced.

PLATE XII. This illustration shows the row of six face-shields used for an altar in the Walpi *Sumaikoli*. The facial areas, beginning at the right, are colored yellow, green, red, white, black, and black.

Two *tiponis* stand before the green *Sumaikoli*, and from one of these, diagonally on the floor, extends the meal path on which is represented the feathered string. The faces of black sticks representing *Kokyan-wüqti* rest on the floor before the red face-shield. The two other objects are a tray of prayer-meal and an aspergill.









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